



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY

905 .H484 NO.49

C.1

Some aspects of bounda

Stanford University Libraries



3 6105 048 540 905



SOME ASPECTS OF
BOUNDARY SETTLE-
MENT AT THE PEACE
CONFERENCE

ALAN G. OGILVIE

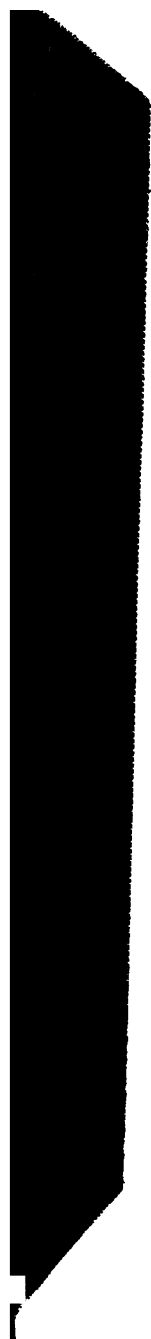
905

H484
No. 49



STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES





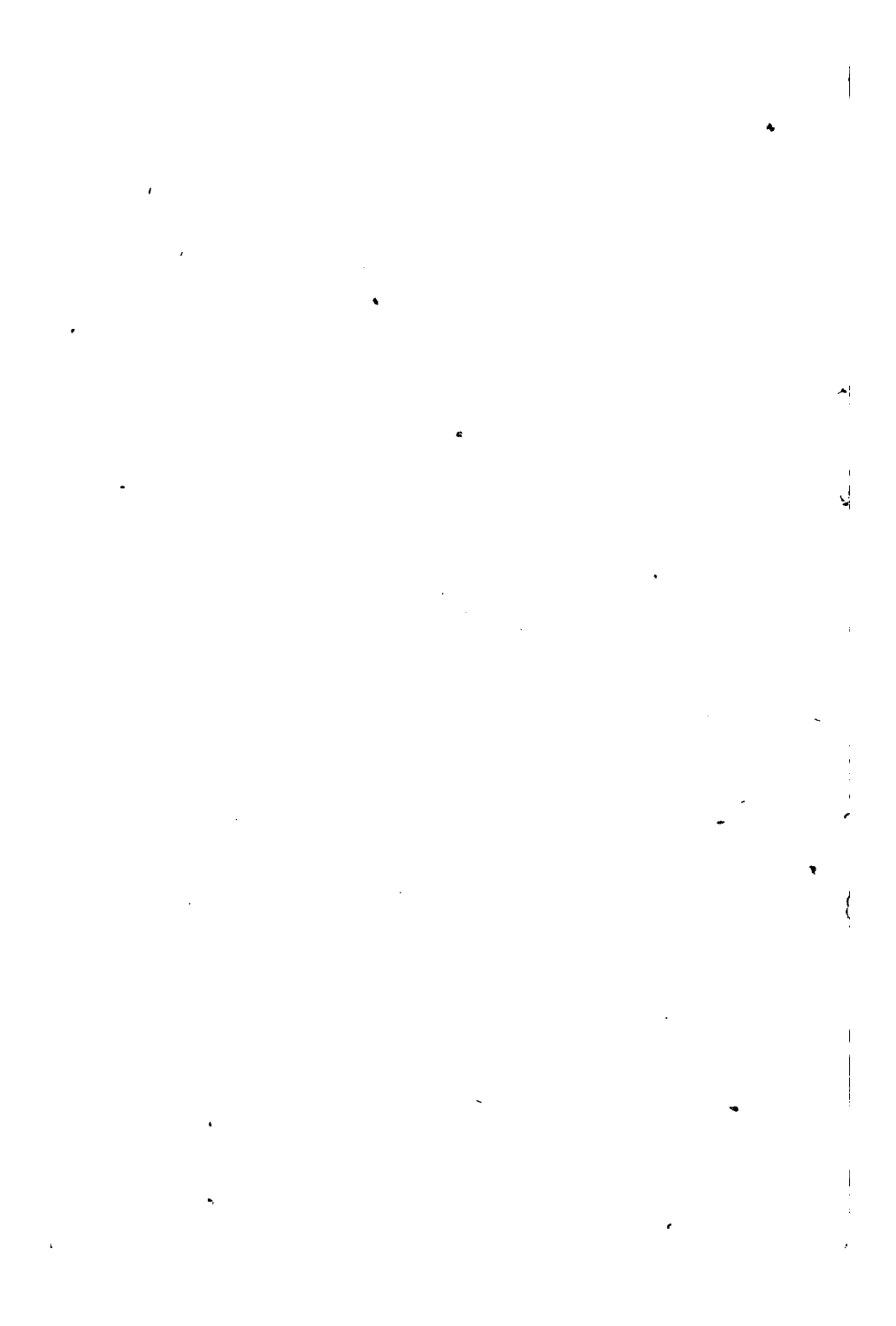
SOME ASPECTS OF
BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT
AT THE
PEACE CONFERENCE

BY

ALAN G. OGILVIE, O.B.E., M.A., B.Sc.

LONDON
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
NEW YORK AND TORONTO: THE MACMILLAN CO.

1922



PREFACE

THIS pamphlet is intended to be an aid in the study of the Treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon, and Neuilly, and should be read in conjunction with the territorial clauses of those Treaties. The difficulty in making just boundary settlements in Central and Eastern Europe was due in large measure to the complex geographical character of these regions; and it is the boundaries situated in country of greatest complexity which I have treated in detail. Some of the frontier decisions in which geographical considerations were definitely set aside or were regarded as of minor importance receive but casual mention, while others are omitted from the discussion.

A full understanding of boundary questions can only be obtained by study of maps of somewhat large scale. The best for this purpose are the sheets of the Austrian General Staff map, "Generalkarte von Mittel Europa 1 : 200,000," copies of which will be found in all important map collections. And it should be noted in passing that the spelling of place-names in the various Treaties and in the present work are taken from the latest editions of these sheets. Where the Austrian map is not available for study, the reader should have recourse to one of the following atlases: *The Times Atlas of the World*, 1921 (Plates 36, 43, 47, and 48); Stieler's *Hand Atlas*, 1920 (Plates 17, 18, 19, 20, 51, and 52); *Andrees' Hand Atlas*, 1914 (pp. 75 to 82 and 134 to 137), in which most of the names mentioned will be found.

I wish to express my obligation to one of the editors of this series, Mr. Harold Temperley, for the many valuable and helpful suggestions he has made.

SOME ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

PART I

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF FRONTIERS

GENERAL GEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

THE basal conditions underlying the territorial decisions of the Peace Conference may be considered as geographical in a broader and a narrower sense. In seeking to change the political allegiance of a population from one State to another, the Conference aimed first at reducing the ethnic variety in the States, and secondly at finding frontiers which would leave the newly constituted territories with adequate communications, internal and external, which would possess no inherent sources of military irritation, and which would interfere as little as possible with the existing material life of the peoples affected—unless, of course, the alteration were to be for the better on both sides of the line.

The study which led to the decisions was essentially that of the ethnography of the regions in question and of their geography in its physical, political, historical, economic, and military aspects. The various Allied and Associated Governments had applied themselves to this study for varying periods prior to the Armistice. The most economical method of attacking such problems is probably to concentrate the attention of a single organization on all the aspects of individual regions in turn, so as to obtain a clear idea of the probable results on all sides of territorial changes in any one region. This is the geographical method, and it seems to have been employed only by the United States, by the "Inquiry" centred at the house of the American Geographical Society of New York. The British Government, for instance, had

its data worked up by a number of organizations under the different departments of State, with much overlapping, as each was mainly concerned with one or other aspect.

(a) *Procedure at the Conference.*—At the Conference the organization of the several Territorial Commissions* enabled the various regions to be considered by separate groups of delegates and officials, and these were ever in close consultation with the specialists on aspects such as ethnic statistics, railways, mines, and other economic subjects, and on naval and military questions. Throughout these preliminary stages the Conference had a useful asset in the map of Europe on a uniform scale (1: 1,000,000), the provisional edition of the "International Map" produced by the British Government, and ultimately adopted as the standard map accompanying the Treaties.

At the Peace Conference the term "geographical" was used officially in its narrower sense, which may be held as equivalent to "topographical." A Central Geographical Committee was formed whose functions were first to ensure that all boundaries selected were easy to establish and maintain, and that they were properly delimited, and secondly to prepare instructions for the Demarcation Commissions.† Past experience of several of the Governments concerned pointed to the danger of loose delimitation and of insufficient guidance to Boundary Commissions.

The process of delimiting the new frontiers in effect was divided into three main stages, while the final or demarcation stage was necessarily left to the Boundary Commissions on the ground. The report of the several

* There was one Territorial Commission on the boundaries of Czecho-Slovakia, another on those of Yugo-Slavia and Rumánia, and a third, named the Greek Commission, which also considered the south boundary of Albania. Austrian Poland was dealt with by the Polish Commission and the Inter-Allied Subcommittee on Teschen.

† These terms are frequently confused. "Delimitation" refers to the work done in determining a frontier up to and including its incorporation in a Treaty. "Demarcation" is the actual tracing of the frontier by a Boundary Commission after the coming into force of the Treaty.

6 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

Territorial Commissions to the Supreme Council completed the first stage, in which the frontier was described only in general terms and using the map on the scale (1 : 1,000,000) referred to above. The search for suitable boundaries was then referred to various sub-Commissions of members accustomed to topographical work. In this stage the boundaries were drawn and defined in some detail by reference to maps of intermediate scales, usually about 1 : 200,000.

The third stage was the detailed examination by the Central Geographical Committee of the boundary as above defined. This Committee used maps of larger scale, although as a rule the delimitation was made to refer to the smaller-scaled maps. In making this final delimitation for the Treaties, the Geographical Committee used its judgment as to the extent of latitude to be given to Boundary Commissions.

From the above account of the mechanism it will be seen that broad principles were settled by the Supreme Council on the advice of the Territorial Commissions. On these bodies the Italian delegates were known, in view of their Treaty claims, to have limiting instructions; the British and Americans were pretty well known to have no instructions except to report on the general merits of the case; the French may or may not have had them. Subject to these reservations, these bodies treated each case on its merits, their decisions being based now on ethnic, now on historical, now on economic, and occasionally on military grounds.

The work of the sub-Commissions was to find a line within given limits which should fulfil the conditions of the Commissions, and which should be essentially suitable as a boundary. And this work was continued in greater detail by the Geographical Committee. In the sub-Commission stage such questions as the military value of hill ranges and the military and economic importance of railway junctions were considered, as were also the possibilities of maintaining intact geographical units, such as intermontane basins and valleys. To these considerations the Geographical Committee added that of the relative ease of fixing boundaries accurately, introducing,

so far as possible, well-known survey points, and by its instructions to Boundary Commissions ensuring that the new international lines should to a great extent avoid the partition of properties. It also dealt with the important question of river boundaries, and in the case of rivers on wide flood plains, where the river bed is apt to change, leaving the Boundary Commission to decide whether, on the one hand, the position at the time of demarcation should be the boundary for all time, or whether, on the other hand, the boundary should move automatically with the course of the river.

(b) *Relation of Territorial Commissions to the "Four" and "Five."*—In their replies to the Hungarian and Bulgarian observations the Allied and Associated Powers almost wholly avoided discussion of ethnic or geographic questions. They gave more detailed expositions of their principles in dealing with the Tyrol, Klagenfurt, Czecho-Slovakia, and West Hungary. But Treaty obligations and *la haute politique* played a large part in these decisions, and principles were stated only in a vague and general fashion. In all cases the statesmen, whether the "Four" or the "Five," necessarily and correctly reserved their final right of decision and, if necessary, overruled the experts. But it was obviously more difficult to overrule experts individually than to overrule a unanimous technical report. Hence on some crucial questions the Territorial Commissions did not report. The western limit of the Yugo-Slav and Rumanian Commission was Tarvis, and they therefore never reported on the Austrian frontier with Italy in the Tyrol, on Fiume or Dalmatia, or the western frontier of Yugo-Slavia with Italy. These facts may give some indication of the relations of experts to statesmen.

Just as in every other case where the experts worked together, they sought to elaborate certain definite principles. It was much more difficult in this case than in most others, for in Austria-Hungary economics and nationality often conflicted with one another, and in some parts of the old Monarchy as well as elsewhere races were sometimes so intermixed that no guiding principle could serve. It was impossible, for example, to find an ethnic line in some parts of the Banat or to

8 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

partition Thrace upon a racial basis. But certain guiding principles, or at any rate ideals, did appear, and have been formulated by more than one writer in the following fashion. When limiting instructions or paramount national interests did not stand in the way, it is quite safe to say that nearly all the experts would have agreed to the following principles. A good frontier should—

(1) Include in each State the maximum number of its own nationals and the minimum number of other nationalities.

(2) Respect local conditions and sentiments as far as possible by not disturbing existing administrative boundaries.

(3) Pay special regard to the convenience of inhabitants near the frontier on each side, and consider the local requirements.

(4) Follow as far as possible well-defined natural features.

(5) Avoid sharp salients and re-entrants.

(6) Afford the best facilities for the economic life and evolution of each State concerned.

(7) Avoid breaking existing lines of communication—*e.g.*, railways, canals, roads, and rivers.

The last point is well illustrated on the western frontier of Rumania, where immense numbers of Magyars were annexed by Rumania to make it possible to include in her frontiers the railway running from north to south in her new territory. Military considerations as such presented more difficulty and caused less unanimity. But the examples of the Yugo-Slav frontier in the Baranya and on the western side of Bulgaria supply good instances of how a strategic frontier can be rendered formidable for the defence and useless for the attack, in striking contrast to the principles adopted with regard to the Brenner line and the line of the Treaty of Rapallo, which did not come within the competence of the Territorial Commissions.

A brief technical review of the considerations relating to individual cases will perhaps best show the principles on which the new frontiers were drawn by the Conference. The examples used are not drawn from the German Treaty, where the decisions have been taken on grounds

which are intelligible to all, and which are often not primarily geographical. On the other hand, the Austrian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian Treaties deal with the readjustment of great masses of territory in Central Europe, and serve to illustrate in a general way the principles already outlined.

PART II

APPLICATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES TO THE AUSTRIAN, HUNGARIAN, AND BULGARIAN TREATIES

1. **THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.**—This boundary coincides with historic frontier lines in its eastern and western sections, but had to be delimited afresh in the centre.

(a) *Western Section.*—In the west the old limit of Bohemia is the new boundary. It may well be asked if it had not been better in the Sudetes Mountains to seek a new boundary which should at once eliminate some of the very marked salients which occur in the old political line, reduce the number of Germans in the Czech State, and keep to a sound military line. The boundary of Bohemia, however, and of Moravia up to the salient east of Neustadt remains as before the war.

(b) *Eastern Section.*—From a point just west of the River Poprad—i.e., east of the Magas Tatra—eastwards the old frontier between Hungary and Galicia forms the new boundary. This line follows the main crest of the Carpathians till it meets the new northern limit of Rumania south of the Jablunka Pass. In its western part this section of the boundary separates Slovaks from Poles and Ruthenes. East of the Uzsok Pass at the head of the Ung Valley Ruthenes occupy both slopes of the mountains, but the Ruthene territory attached to Czecho-Slovakia is entirely on the Danubian side.

(c) *Central Section.*—From the Neustadt salient to the Poprad is nearly 120 miles as the crow flies. The zone

10 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

between these points in which new boundaries had to be sought touches three distinct physical divisions: in the west the edge of the Lower Gesenke Plateau, which is the end of the Sudetes Mountains; east of this and separated from it by the narrow furrow of the Moravian Gate is the complex barrier of the Central Carpathians, composed of the Jablunka Mountains and Western Beskides, with the Magas Tatra to the south; while to the north of both lies the great Polish plain, or rather low plateau, drained by the head-streams of the Oder and Vistula. The zone touches the old political divisions of Austrian and German Silesia, Moravia, the Duchy of Teschen, Austrian Galicia, and Hungary. It is crossed by numerous railways, including two very important routes—that from Vienna by the Moravian Gate to Breslau and to Krakau, and the direct railway from Breslau to Slovakia by way of Teschen and the Jablunka Pass. The lowland area forms one of the most important industrial districts in Europe, coinciding with the great coalfield which begins just outside the Moravian Gate.

Political boundaries in the zone are nowhere ethnic limits. Austrian Silesia is divided between Germans and Czechs; Upper Silesia between Germans and Poles, with some Czechs; Teschen Duchy is occupied by Poles and Czechs, with a proportion of Germans commingled on the coalfield; and in the Carpathians the Poles overlap the old Hungarian boundary.

2. THE PLEBISCITE AREAS IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.—The doubt as to the value of available ethnic statistics in conjunction with the mingled distribution of the races, especially in the neighbourhood of the economic prize of the coalfields, led the Conference to have recourse to plebiscites.

The boundaries delimiting the four areas for this purpose were, as far as possible, existing administrative limits.

In the case of three of the areas, however—the Duchy of Teschen and the regions of Orava and Spits—it proved impracticable, for a number of reasons, to proceed to a plebiscite, and the Council of Ambassadors drew up a Declaration at the end of July, 1920, delimiting the boundaries in the three districts.

(a) *Upper Silesia (Leobschütz).*—This area was first defined in the Treaty with Germany. The intention was to make the plebiscite a clear issue between Germans and Poles, and the southern boundary was drawn with a view to eliminating the Czech element. Thus, Germany ceded to Czecho-Slovakia a quadrilateral in the extreme south of Upper Silesia and adjoining Austrian Silesia which was ceded to her by Austria. This quadrilateral has for its north-western limit the boundary between the *Kreise* of Leobschütz and Ratibor, on the east the Oder, and on the north-east a line to be fixed on the ground. The north-east corner is just south of the Teschen-Breslau Railway, so that in the event of Teschen being assigned to Poland this main route would not be broken.

(b) *Teschen.*—The Duchy of Teschen forms a quadrilateral bisected by the railway above mentioned and with Teschen nearly in the centre, the Jablunka Pass being sixteen miles south-south-east of the town.

The boundary between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, as delimited by the Council of Ambassadors, divides the Duchy into two almost equal parts by a line running generally from north-west to south-east. This line leaves the northern limit of the Duchy east of the village of Piersna, and, passing east of Friestadt, it meets the Olsa, a river which is closely followed by the Jablunka Railway. The boundary follows the Olsa upstream to a point above Teschen, and then swings east to the watershed between the Olsa and the Upper Vistula. This divide carries the line south-eastward to the old southern limit of the Duchy, whence it continues in the old Moravian-Galicia boundary. It has to be noted that in order to give to Czecho-Slovakia the entire Jablunka Railway, while leaving to Poland the ancient Polish town of Teschen, it has been necessary to sever from that town its modern suburb west of the railway. While the most highly developed mining and industrial part of the Duchy falls to Czecho-Slovakia, Poland acquires an extensive part of the coalfield, a number of industrial centres, including Bielitz with its textiles, and a valuable agricultural region.

(c) *Orava and Spits.*—The great rectangular salient of

12 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

Galicia by which it reached the crest of the Magas Tatra is a bad feature from all points of view. The Polish population of the salient extends both east of it in the region of Spits and west of it in the region of Orava, both in the lowland north of the Magas Tatra. The Declaration of the Council of Ambassadors widens the Polish salient by assigning to Poland roughly triangular areas in both regions. In Orava this consists essentially of the upper basin of the Arva, which drains south-west to the Vag. But as the divide about the head-streams of this river is low, there is easy access from Poland. In Spits the area given to Poland is smaller, and lies between the Lower Bialka and Dunajec Rivers.

3. THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.—To understand the line adopted for this boundary it is necessary to consider briefly the geographical character of the regions occupied by the Slav group—Czechs, Moravians, Slovaks, and Ruthenes. The home of these peoples comprises Bohemia except its hilly margins, the Moravian plateau and lowland, the Carpathian chain south of the main divide and east to the Tisza, and the complex group of ranges of which the Tatra are the most important; but the lower outliers of this group of ranges are occupied by Magyars. From Bohemia to the Ruthenian territory the new State presents a gradually narrowing figure corresponding to the outline of the mountain systems which compose its territory. We have also to note that the Slovak population lies in a great number of valleys, many of them penetrated by railways, but few of them linked to one another. This absence of easy communication between groups at least partly accounts for the backward state of the Slovaks politically. This fact, taken in conjunction with the remarkably attenuated form of the territory, led the Peace Conference to devote great attention to railway routes in Slovakia, and especially those which run from east to west. It must also be noted that the valley of the Morava (March) forms one of the natural highways of Central Europe, leading from Austria to the Moravian Gate, and so to the Oder.

The Conference decided in principle to leave intact with their historic boundaries the provinces of Bohemia,

Moravia, and Lower Austria, but in the boundary between the two latter the need of the new State for all possible railway links across the narrow neck of Moravia intervened and produced two excisions from Lower Austria.

The first is at Gmund, and forms a salient created to include in the new State the junction of the Gmund-Budweis and Gmund-Wittigau Railways, but excluding the town of Gmund. The significance of this junction is perhaps greater from a military than an economic point of view. The other break from the historic boundary is near the Morava, and without diverging far it leaves to Czecho-Slovakia an important frontier railway from Znaim to Lundenburg, on the Thaya, and so south to Bratislava (Pressburg).

The Morava is then the boundary southwards to the Danube, and it is also the ethnic line. The importance of this frontier can only be appreciated when the commercial possibilities of an improved waterway are envisaged, including canal connection with the Oder system, and possibly also by way of the Thaya to the Moldau. The line separating Slovaks from Magyars is fairly clean cut. From the confluence of the Morava (March) with the Danube it describes a flat curve, convex to the south and ending at Rozsnyo, on the Upper Sajo, and continues eastward in a similar curve ending at Ungvar, to be carried on by the line dividing Ruthenes and Magyars along the edge of the great plain to the Tisza. The following towns are on or near the ethnic line: Bratislava (Pressburg), Léva, Losoncz, Rozsnyo, Kássa, Ungvár, Munkács, of which the most important are Bratislava and Kássa.

The problem before the Conference was how to delimit the territory of the new State so as to give it sufficient breadth from north to south, and sufficient east to west communications to ensure its economic and political unity and development, and yet to avoid encroaching too much on Magyar populations. There was also the further complication of the Slovak demand for a footing on the Danube, based on the theory that all Danubian States have the right of access to the great natural artery. The solution adopted was, in short, first to place Slovakia

14 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

on the Danube for a stretch of about 100 miles, and even across the river for a few miles opposite Bratislava; secondly, to assure to the new State rail connection eastwards from the central junction of Zolyom to Losonc, with the additional possibility of building a line from Parkány, on the Danube, along the right bank of the Ipoly to this town; thence eastwards to give to Slovakia the existing line to the Upper Sajó and on to Rozsnyó, thus connecting all the valleys leading south from the highlands; then to include Kássa, on the Hernád, and its district; while, again, from here the dominating factor was the railway from Kássa to Sátoralja-Ujhely, and thence eastward to Csap and so up the Tisza to Mararos-Sziget.

It will be seen that for economic and political as well as strategic reasons the Conference, to a large extent, set aside the ethnic line as a boundary. In doing so it included in Czecho-Slovakia two large stretches of the plains, as well as a number of hill valleys with large Magyar populations; and it is probable that more seeds of irredentism will have been sown here than in any other area. The two large areas referred to are, first, about one-half of the plain of Upper Hungary and including the great island of Csallókő—better known as the "Grosse Schütt." In this large area there is only one important colony of Slovaks, about the Lower Nyitra. The second area is the embayment in the mountains north of the Tisza and drained by the Bodrog and its tributaries.

For consideration in detail the boundary falls naturally into three sections—the Danube, the Mountain, and the Plains sections.

(a) *The Danube.*—The centre of the navigation channel of the Danube is the boundary from the Morava (March) to the Ipoly, with the exception of the Bratislava (Pressburg) bridgehead. Having decided to assign the Grosse Schütt to Czecho-Slovakia, the Conference could not have chosen a better line, for the Danube in this section is well regulated and flows largely between embankments. The significance of the Bratislava bridgehead, a small area of about four square miles, can be best appreciated in connection with the boundary between the junction of

two railways which connect Czecho-Slovakia with Yugo-Slavia, the one lying entirely in Austrian and the other in Hungarian territory.

(b) *The Mountains*.—The Ipoly (Eipel) River forms the new boundary up to a few miles of Losoncz, save for a small deviation to the south at Ipolysag to include the railway junction with a valley line from the north. From the Ipoly East-North-East to the confluence of the Sajo and the Rima the boundary is to be fixed mainly along water partings in a hilly and largely forested district. The only complication which occurs is that the coal-mines of Salgo-Tarjan are practically on the divide, and the boundary will depart from it so as to leave the mines to Hungary. At Banreve, on the Sajo, there is a double railway junction, and the interests of Hungary are safeguarded by leaving to her the more easterly junction with the station and town of Banreve, while assuring to Czecho-Slovakia the connection with the Upper Sajo line to Rozsnyo.

The boundary thence runs north-east, following wooded and sparsely populated plateaux east of the Sajo; and then, turning south-east and crossing the Bodva, it encircles the wide agricultural basin south of Kassa, still keeping to watersheds where possible, but following the Hernad for a short distance. The line then crosses the Eperjes Mountains, which trend from north to south, and, reaching a tributary of the Bodrog, it follows this down to Satoralja-Ujhely. It leaves this town—but not the railway junction—in Hungary, and finally turns away from the hills and crosses the Bodrog.

(c) *The Plains*.—From the Bodrog to the meeting-place of Rumania, Hungary, and the Ruthenian territory, nine miles north of Szatmar-Nemeti, a boundary had to be sought which should keep to the south of the railway above described and yet include in Czecho-Slovakia as few villages south of the line as possible. The boundary is therefore never more than a few miles from the railway. It remains to be fixed on the ground, and is defined by limiting villages. For six miles it follows the Tisza in the most northerly bend of that river near Csap; and in several other sections farther south-east the line follows portions of minor streams.

16 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

4. THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND ITALY.—

(a) *General*.—The main question before the Conference in respect of this boundary involved the future status of the Southern Tyrol with its population—German in the north, Ladin and Italian in the south. The region was the most typically mountainous one which the Conference had to consider. Since the population is segregated in valleys separated by lofty ridges, intercommunication was all-important. The economic resources of the Tyrol, while consisting mainly in the products of forestry and agriculture, included also valuable water-power. It is important to note that behind the discussions regarding this frontier was the Pact of London (of April, 1915) to which Great Britain, France, and Italy were parties; and that the Austro-Italian boundary provided by this pact, in so far as its definition is intelligible—it is couched in very loose terms—gives to Italy the entire basin of the Adige and its large German-speaking population. The relation of this Treaty to President Wilson's ninth point—"A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality"—is discussed in the "History of the Peace Conference," vol. iv., p. 279 *sqq.* (Ed. Temperley. London, 1921).

The Italian contention implied in the Pact of London was that a merely linguistic frontier in the Tyrol would be strategically unsafe, since no matter what mountain crests were selected for this line, they would be commanded by higher crests to the north. Such a frontier would presumably leave to Austria the valleys of the Eisach and of the Adige above Bozen, and would have rejoined the old Italian boundary in the neighbourhood of Marmolata. Italy therefore claimed her "natural" frontier—i.e., the limits of the basins of rivers draining to the Adriatic; and when the Austrian Peace Treaty was ready for signature, she was found to have obtained this frontier.

It must be noted that the connections with Austria of the northern part of the ceded territory were by road over the Reschen Pass (north-west), by rail over the Brenner Pass (north), and by rail through the great natural corridor (north-east) of the Pustertal leading to the Drave basin.

(b) *Boundâry Selected.*—The boundary leaves the Swiss frontier near the Reschen Pass, and from there to the western end of the Hohe Tauern it follows an almost continuous line of high peaks and snowfields, its lowest point being at the Brenner Pass. The water-parting then leads the boundary southwards into the Pustertal. In this valley Italy is allowed to encroach slightly on the Drave basin east of Innichen, to permit her to utilize the important route by the Sextonbach to the Piave Valley. From this point the boundary is the crest of the Carnic Alps, as before the war, but instead of bending south-eastwards to the Julian Alps, as did the old boundary, the new line continues to follow the watershed between the Drave and Tagliamento basins to a point north-west of Tarvis, and carries on the same direction across the Gailitz to a peak named Peč. Thus far is Italy admitted by the Treaty to extend. It will be seen below (Sect. 5) that in October, 1920, the decision was taken after a plebiscite that the Klagenfurt district should remain in Austria; and one result of this was that Peč automatically became the meeting-place of the boundaries of Austria, Italy, and Yugo-Slavia.

5. THE BOUNDARIES IN THE REGION NORTH-EAST OF THE ADRIATIC.—In this region it was the task of the Peace Conference to try to establish frontiers between Austria on the one hand and Italy and Yugo-Slavia on the other, as well as between the two latter States. The old political divisions involved were Carinthia, with the Klagenfurt basin as its centre, Carniola, centring round the Laibach basin and the province of Küstenland, including Istria; while the port of Fiume in Croatia was also involved. The region is highly complex physically. The two large basins above mentioned, draining respectively to the Drave and the Save, are separated by the Karavanken range. The Laibach basin has to west of it the sinuous chain of the Julian Alps, drained by the Isonzo south-westwards to the Adriatic. To the south-west of the Laibach basin and shutting it off from the sea is the great belt of rugged, inhospitable limestone plateaux—the Karst country (*Carso*); and amongst the plateaux are a number of small isolated depressions

18 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

(*polyes*), well watered and often marshy. But it is in such places alone that water runs at the surface. In such a region the communications are of great importance. From Udine a railway leads by the Tagliamento basin to Tarvis, on the Gailitz, and so to Klagenfurt. The main line from Trieste to Vienna runs through Gorizia (Görz) up the Isonzo, thence by tunnel through the Julian Alps to the Save at Assling, then through the Karavanken by the Rosenberg tunnel to Klagenfurt. From Laibach a line threads the Karst plateaux south-westwards, and, bifurcating at Sveti Peter, sends one branch to Trieste and another to Fiume.

Throughout most of the region the population is uniformly Slovene. The ethnic limit between Slovenes and Italians or Friulans is clean cut, and runs from the most northerly point of the Adriatic northwards to Görz, and thence north-westwards to occupy most of the Upper Isonzo basin. The line separating Slovenes and Germans is less clean cut, since there is in most parts a narrow zone of mixed population. The Slovenes penetrate up the Drave valley to Villach, and in the Gail Valley to a point some twenty miles farther west. Their limit on the north is very roughly parallel to the Drave and generally somewhat to the north of it.

Such, then, briefly, is the region in which frontiers were to be sought. The difficulties of the Conference were numerous and varied. Again the Pact of London lay at the back of the political mind of the British, French, and Italian delegates. Again this document conflicted with President Wilson's expressed principles. For no matter what interpretation was given to the boundary definition provided by the Pact, it clearly enabled Italy to encroach upon country occupied by Slovenes. It is interesting to note that had the Pact of London been put into operation the greatest difficulty would have been experienced in interpreting it, to such an extent does it lack precision in its boundary definition, while in the section between a point east of Idria and the Schneeberg (eighteen miles north of Fiume) the line is defined as "leaving outside Italian territory all the basin of the Save and its tributaries"; and this for a distance of thirty-six miles almost

entirely in the Karst belt, where no man can find a water-parting of any sort without dangerous subterranean exploration.

By the Treaty of Rapallo of November 12, 1920, Italy and Yugo-Slavia came to an independent agreement regarding their mutual boundary. Yugo-Slavia, intent upon obtaining her outlet at Fiume, was induced to make great concessions throughout the bulk of the frontier. The Pact of London line was moved eastward by some six miles on the average throughout the whole section between Idria and the Schneeberg, and the boundary was delimited in such a way as to give to Italy a long series of easily fortified positions. On the other hand, Italy did not obtain Fiume, which was constituted a Free State, and "the Assling triangle," by falling to Yugo-Slavia, left her an unbroken railway between Laibach and Klagenfurt, while it inserted a tongue of Yugo-Slav territory across Italy's railway from Gorizia to the Austrian town. In this connection, however, it must be recalled that Italy had already secured direct connection with the Drave Valley by way of Tarvis.

From Peč on the Austrian boundary the new line runs south to the Save-Isonzo watershed, which it follows, with some variations in favour of Italy, to a point east of Idria. Italy obtains that place with its important mercury-mines. Thence the line runs south-east to the eastern slopes of the Schneeberg, leaving Adelsberg to Italy. From the Schneeberg it trends south-west to meet the boundary of the State of Fiume. Of Istrian territory Italy also acquired the islands of Cherzo, Lussin, and Unie. On the other hand, in Dalmatia Italy was induced to be satisfied with a small territory about Zara.

The Yugo-Slav claim to the Klagenfurt basin on ethnic grounds having been met by the decision to hold two plebiscites in the area, it was necessary to select boundaries for the two zones, each of which would serve as a satisfactory southern boundary for Austria according to the result of the plebiscites. The first (southern) zone was bounded on the south by the crest of the Karavanken, and by a line thence north-eastwards across the Drave to include areas indisputably Slovene, but leaving to

20 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

plebiscite Bleiburg, with its lead-mines. Thence the boundary passed north-west, but excluded the Lavant Tal, with its important iron-mines at Wolfsberg; then south-west by the Gurk, and west to the Wörther See, so as to leave Klagenfurt in the second zone. The northern boundary of the latter was defined mainly by guiding points and left to be fixed on the ground. It ran generally east to west, and passed some five miles to the north of Klagenfurt. These arrangements, however, ceased to be of importance, because the plebiscite in the southern zone went in favour of Austria (October, 1920), and in consequence of this that in the northern zone was not held. The whole of the disputed area of the Klagenfurt basin therefore passed to Austria.

Between the Klagenfurt area and the peak Peč is a short stretch in which the crest of the Karavanken is the new boundary of Austria.

The Peace Conference was unable to make a final decision in this section. With the fate of the Klagenfurt in the balance, and with no Italian-Yugo-Slav frontier settled, it could not assign the small district immediately south of this section of the Karavanken to any Power for the following reason: The district, which came to be known as the "Assling triangle," consists virtually of the westernmost part of the Save basin, and is bounded on the east by a north-south line just east of the Gorizia-Assling Railway. The triangle, including as it does part of the Rosenbach tunnel, contains an important section of the railways from Trieste to Vienna and from Fiume by Laibach to Vienna. Its fate depended both on the result of the Klagenfurt plebiscite and of the Italo-Yugo-Slav arrangements. As a result of direct negotiations between Italy and Yugo-Slavia at Rapallo, November 12, 1920, it was finally settled that the "Assling triangle" should become Yugo-Slav.

Between the Austrian boundary in the Klagenfurt area where it crosses the Drave and a point on the Mur north of Marburg lies a hilly area with few villages, but many isolated farms occupying forest clearings. Through this region a boundary was found which has the advantage of being, for the most part, an existing administrative line,

and which diverges but little from the Drave-Mur watershed on the one hand and from the ethnic limit on the other.

The course of the Mur is thereafter the new boundary as far as the old Austro-Hungarian frontier, about three miles below Radkersburg. From here northwards to the meeting-point of the new Hungarian boundary, some ten miles north of this town, the boundary chosen is the old line between Austria and Hungary.

The section above described breaks away from the ethnic line in so far as it leaves a considerable German-speaking population in Yugo-Slavia south of the Mur, the regulated channel of the Mur being held to be the best boundary here. But, on the other hand, the German town of Radkersburg remains in Austria. The old Austro-Hungarian frontier up to the three-frontier point nearly coincides with the ethnic line.

It may be noted that the Austrian ethnic claim here induced the Conference to abandon its usual practice of avoiding pronounced salients in boundaries. This fact may be found to leave Radkersburg in a bad situation, economically and strategically.

6. THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN HUNGARY AND YUGO-SLAVIA.—The search for a boundary conforming to ethnographical divisions proved to be most difficult in this case. The population is almost entirely Slav to the south of the Mur, Drave, and Danube, and there are important Slav elements to the north of these rivers. Ethnographically the frontier may be divided into three sections:

(a) *Western*, from the Austrian boundary to the confluence of the Lendva with the Mur, in which a solid tongue of Slovenes extends northward almost to St. Gothard.

(b) *Central*, from the Mur-Lendva confluence to a point on the Drave south of Pécs (Fünf-Kirchen). In this section the Magyar population north of the rivers is nearly solid, with the exception of a fairly continuous line of Slav villages near the north bank of the Drave.

(c) *Eastern*, from the point on the Drave above mentioned eastwards to the Rumanian boundary. This section north of the Danube has the most remarkable

22 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

mosaic of races in Europe. The section comprises the Baranya, between the Drave and the Danube: the Bačka, bounded on the west by the Danube and on the east by the Tisza (Theiss); and the district usually described as "the Banat," between the Tisza and the Transylvanian foothills.

(a) *Western Section—Considerations.*—The Slovene population occupies part of the Mur Plain and a compact triangular area of wooded hilly country to the north. To include this population in Yugo-Slavia did not involve the cutting of any through railway connection; but Murassombat, on the plain, is joined by rail only with Hungary through the hills. It will remain to continue this railway southwards.

Boundary Selected.—From the Austrian boundary to the Lendva River a line to be fixed on the ground passing through a few governing points and between various named villages, thus interfering as little as possible with property.

(b) *Central Section—Considerations.*—In this section the Drave is a typical river of the Hungarian plain, meandering, and variable as to course and current. It has been made navigable up to its confluence with the Mur, but as a waterway it still leaves much to be desired. The old boundary between Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia follows a former meandering channel of the Drave, crossing the canalized river every few miles. The possible variability of the river course and the presence of Slavs on the left bank seemed to point to a line parallel to the Drave and some distance north of it as the best boundary. But this in the western part would interfere with an important Hungarian peripheral railway. A boundary north of the Drave was therefore excluded, and the established nature of the old administrative limit was considered to be of more weight than the maintenance by one State of the navigable waterway.

Boundary Selected.—The median line of the Mur and of the Drave downstream to its junction with the old boundary between Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia about 1·5 kilometres above the Gyékenyes-Koproncza railway-bridge. Thence eastwards, the old political boundary

modified where necessary so as to leave the north-bank railway to Hungary. It will be seen that as a result of this there are numerous small tongues of Hungarian and Yugo-Slav territory crossing the navigable Drave.

(c) *The Baranya, the Batka, and the Banat—Considerations.*—This large region of mixed population of Serbs, Magyars, and Germans, with the addition of Rumans in the Banat, consists, except in the Northern Baranya, of plain varying only a few feet in altitude, for the most part exceedingly fertile, but in parts covered with sands not completely fixed by the vegetation, while the flood plains of the rivers are subject to occasional serious inundations. The only physical features of note are the Rivers Danube and Tisza, here running from north to south. The main part of the dense population, although occupied in agriculture, is collected in small towns.

No matter what boundary was selected in these three districts, considerable alien populations must necessarily be included, to such an extent are the races split up into colonies. The aim of the Conference was to reach by compromise a line which would make as just an ethnic division as possible, without interfering greatly with the economic life of towns and districts. Its success has been perhaps less conspicuous in the latter than in the former. Thus, Szeged and Maria Theresiopol, the two largest cities in the region and great railway centres, are now frontier towns, with half their radial lines in another State; while Szeged, the second city on the Hungarian plain, is within a few miles of the meeting point of the Slav, Ruman, and Magyar States. It must not be thought, however, that considerations of railways played no part in boundary selection. Indeed, it may well be argued that in this and other frontiers on the great plain too much weight was attached to rail connections, in that the construction of new lines nowhere presents any difficulty, and that therefore it is unreasonable to sacrifice nationality to communications.

The above general statement requires some modification in the case of the Baranya, which is only low-lying and flat in its extreme southern apex between the Drave and Danube. The hills terminate in an east to west

24 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

ridge about thirteen miles south of Pécs and some 700 feet above the plain; while south-east of this is another similar ridge, isolated and nearly parallel, but slightly lower, and reaching the Danube at Kis-Köszeg.

The Conference decided that on ethnic grounds the Yugo-Slav State should cross into the Baranya, but that these grounds did not justify its extension much to the north of the latitude of Kis-Köszeg. It had to note, in choosing a boundary, that the presence of these ridges gave special importance to the strategic considerations. The two hill ranges, if in the hands of different Powers, would give equal advantage to each, whether in attack or defence. The boundary adopted runs between the two ridges.

Boundary Selected.—From a point to be chosen about nine kilometres east of Miholjac-dolnji the line runs in a north-easterly direction, passing west of Baranyavar and including Torjancz, Föherczeglak, and Dalyok in Yugo-Slav territory. Thence it crosses the Danube and follows a line to be fixed on the ground between Herczegzanto (Hungarian) and Bereg (Yugo-Slav), includes Rigycza in Yugo-Slavia, and thereby severs a Hungarian railway connection, passes north of the important city of Maria Theresiopel (Szabadka), and crosses the Tisza south of Szeged.

7. BOUNDARY BETWEEN HUNGARY AND RUMANIA.—This boundary is situated entirely on the Hungarian plain, a fact which requires explanation at the outset, in that the ethnic limit of the Rumans is generally assumed to coincide with the western edge of the Transylvanian highlands. If we leave out of account the solid Magyar (Szekler) population of Eastern Transylvania, it is true to say that there are few Magyars within the highland border; but it is not true to say that the Rumans do not encroach on the plain. Nevertheless, ethnic considerations will not account for the action of the Conference in assigning to Rumania a strip of the plain never much less than twenty miles in width and densely populated. The explanation of this is the strenuous Rumanian demand for easy railway communication from north to south, the principal use of which would be the export to the Danube

of the produce—mainly heavy, such as ores and timber—of Transylvania. Now, as noted above, the partition of the Banat between Rumania and Yugo-Slavia gave to Rumania the line from Bazias, on the Danube, to Temesvar, save for the stretch between the Nera and Versecz. By assigning the strip above described to Rumania, the Conference have left in her hands the existing railway from Temesvar through Arad to Kis-Jenő, on the Feher-Körös, and then, after a break where the peripheral line does not yet exist, from Nagyszalonta to Szatmar-Nemeti, near the northern boundary. The railway question manifestly controlled the decision. The ethnic line has been followed in so far as it left the peripheral railway intact, and the definition of the boundary in the Treaty provides for a line to be fixed on the ground passing between named villages, which are as far as possible Magyar to the west and Ruman to the east. It may be noted that the large towns of the plain which thus pass to Rumania—Temesvar, Arad, Nagy-Varad (Grosswardein), and Szatmar-Nemeti—all owe their importance mainly to their situation, each at the outlet of one of the great valley routes from Transylvania. But they are all overwhelmingly Magyar in population.

In detail the boundary calls for little comment. The Maros is followed for a short distance, and in a longer section the country boundary between Csanad and Arad. Elsewhere the line remains to be fixed between limiting villages.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the line selected is open to criticism. It may be asked whether it was right to diverge at all from the ethnic line where this line lies on the plain of Hungary, since the construction of new railways is a simple matter beyond the hills. On the other hand, it may be contended that a racial frontier here would be a very sinuous one, while the line adopted avoids all salients.

8. NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF RUMANIA.—In the Carpathians, Ruthenes and Rumans meet in the Upper Tisza Valley, and the Rumans have a small outpost on the north bank about Maramaros-Sziget. The Tisza Valley also forms one of the main arteries of railway communica-

26 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

tion between Ruthenian Russia and Hungary, by way of the Jablunka Pass. As in the case of the "Assling triangle," it is desirable to keep such routes from traversing more States than is necessary. The chief aims, therefore, in settling this Carpathian frontier, were, first, to leave the mountain railway, if possible, entirely in Ruthenian territory, and secondly to adhere approximately to the ethnic limit.

From the plains eastward the boundary is a water-parting well to the south of the Tisza, which it first meets at a point some ten miles above Huszt.

In this section the river valley is wide and well populated, mainly by Ruthenes; moreover, the river bed is variable. The watershed selected is therefore a better line than the course of the river. From this point up to the confluence of the Tisza and Visso the position of the railway is all-important. It runs entirely on the left bank. To keep it as a Ruthenian line the boundary would have to continue south of the river. But this would cut off Maramoros-Sziget from the Ruman mining and agricultural region to the south, to which it clearly belongs. Similarly, farther east it would break the road and rail connection with the Visso Valley. In all this section, therefore, the channel of the Tisza is the boundary, and a railway will have to be built in Ruthenian territory on the right bank. Above its confluence with the Visso, the Tisza, with the railway, is in Ruthenia, for the boundary eastward to the main Carpathian divide follows a series of minor watersheds.

Bessarabia.—This province was not definitely ceded to Rumania at the Peace Conference, but it was announced on March 9, 1920, that the three Great Powers had consented to its reunion with Rumania. This was confirmed in a Treaty signed October 28, 1920. The United States refused to adhere to this, on the ground that Russia had not been consulted. The boundaries of Bessarabia are simply the administrative boundaries of the old Russian province so-called.

9. FRONTIER BETWEEN RUMANIA AND YUGO-SLAVIA.—In the Eastern Banat the Rumanian element in the population becomes important, and is predominant east

of the line Arad-Temesvar-Versecz. West of this line there are Rumanian settlements along the Maros River below Arad, as well as west and south-west of Versecz. There is also a large German population which, in so far as it is in solid blocks, lies immediately south of Arad and north-west of Temesvar. The Conference aimed at finding a boundary running generally south-south-east from Szeged to the Danube at its confluence with the Nera and passing just east of Versecz, to which there were important Serbian historical claims. Such a bisection of the Banat gave Yugo-Slavia the great bulk of the Slav population, together with relatively small groups of Germans, Magyars, and Rumans, while leaving to Rumania most of the Rumans, the greater part of the Germans, and some small Magyar colonies. The line runs over the plain everywhere except in the section south-east of Versecz. Of the important railways, it was found possible to maintain in Yugo-Slavia the line from near the three-frontier point south-east of Szeged through Nagykikinda to Nagy-Becskerek, and thence south-east to Versecz and south to Belgrade; while Versecz was left with a direct line to Belgrade and another to a point on the Nera only one and a half miles from the Danube.

In the case of Rumania, as noted elsewhere, great stress was laid upon the need for north to south railway communication on the plain, as such was impracticable in the Transylvanian highlands. This was obtained by Rumania everywhere save in the section in question. By giving Versecz to Yugo-Slavia, the Conference cut the Rumanian line from Temesvar to Bazias, on the Danube. Rumania was therefore given the opportunity of constructing a junction line some twenty miles long in the Nera Valley to replace the broken link.

Boundary Selected.—A line to be fixed on the ground, defined almost entirely by the limiting towns and villages in such manner as to maintain intact the railway connections above mentioned—in the case of the Versecz district, curving well to the east of the town so as to divide the hill range which rises some 900 feet above the plain; the last section of the line is the course of the Nera to its confluence with the Danube.

28 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

The remainder of the boundary between Rumania and Yugo-Slavia in the mountain is the course of the Danube down to its confluence with the right-bank tributary, the Timok. The presence both north and south of the Danube of small alien populations was not deemed sufficient reason for abandoning the well-established river boundary in this section.

10. THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY. —The motives which actuated the Conference were, first, ethnic and, secondly, economic. There were over 200,000 Germans in a solid block in Western Hungary, and, moreover, the Austrian State as left by the Peace Settlement would require every acre of agricultural land to which it had any sound ethnographical claim. And a great part of the territory involved on its eastern border is agricultural land.

The old boundary of Hungary left the Danube above Bratislava (Pressburg), passed south-westwards north of the Neusiedler lake, and actually touched the Vienna basin within a mile of Wiener Neustadt. Thence it ran in a general southerly direction to the River Mur below Radkersburg.*

From the meeting-place of Austria, Hungary, and Czecho-Slovakia on the southern edge of the "bridge-head" area opposite Bratislava (Pressburg), the new boundary runs almost due south, keeping to the west of the railway to Csorna, till it reaches the swampy area threaded by the Einser Canal. This canal joins the Neusiedler Lake to the Little Danube at Raab, and the boundary runs westward to meet the lake north of the canal. This lake in future will therefore be in Austria, except for the south-east corner.

From a point on the south shore the boundary is defined as a line to be fixed on the ground passing through named points and between named villages, and such a definition carries the line to where it meets the boundary of Yugo-Slavia, some ten miles north of Radkersburg.

From the Neusiedler Lake south-westwards to a point south-west of Kőszeg, the boundary traverses a rolling

* As a result of recent events a plebiscite (17 Dec., 1921) handed back the town of Oedenburg (Sopron) to Hungary.

plateau, mainly agricultural land. The line then passes southwards some six miles to the west of Szombathely, and crosses the Pinka near its mouth. From the Pinka to its termination the boundary runs over a series of heavily wooded plateaux cut by the Raab and its affluents and populated mainly in the valleys. The Raab is crossed to the west of St. Gothard, so as to leave to Hungary the town and the road joining it to Radkersburg in the south.

11. THE BOUNDARIES OF BULGARIA—(a) *With Serbia*.—This boundary, running roughly from north to south between the Danube and the Belasica range in Macedonia, includes modifications of the 1914 line in three separate stretches, constituting roughly one-half of the boundary. These changes may be said to have been adopted mainly on military grounds. When the political condition of the Balkan States in recent years is remembered, it is not surprising that the Peace Conference here allowed military considerations to outweigh others; for the chief aim of the boundary changes was to remove certain sources of perpetual irritation to Serbia, due to the strategic superiority of Bulgaria on the frontier. In one of the three stretches—north-west of Sofia—the movement of the line eastward tends to create a similar irritation to Bulgaria, and in this case an attempt had to be made which would satisfy Serbia sufficiently and not threaten Bulgaria too much.

In the northern section the old boundary followed the bed of the Timok River, but left it some five miles north-east of Zaječar to run along the northern extension of the Stara Planina, east of the river. North of Zaječar the Timok flows in a winding gorge some 600 feet below the plateau surface, and the river is closely followed by the important Serbian railway from Zaječar—and so from Niš—to Prahovo, on the Danube. In order to afford some protection to this important artery, the boundary has been moved about three miles to the east in such a way as to cause as few villages as possible to change hands.

The second section traverses a region which both politically and strategically is amongst the most important in the Balkan Peninsula. This importance is derived mainly from the situation in it of the two great routes,

30 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

the one leading from Niš to Sofia and so to Constantinople—the “Orient Express” route—and the other from Niš to Skoplje and so to Salonika by way of the Morava and Vardar. The racial and linguistic limit is here ill defined, and in most parts a gradual transition may be observed between Serb and Bulgar characteristics. The population is scattered in isolated farms and small villages.

The old boundary running south-westwards from the Stara Planina, which is the main crest of the Balkan chain in this part, crossed the Niš-Sofia route some fourteen miles north-west of the Dragoman Pass, on the watershed between the Nišava and Golem Isker river basins. This allowed Bulgaria to concentrate armies by three main roads centring on Caribrod in the Nišava Valley, and so swoop down on Pirot, an important nodal point with easy access both to Niš and to Leskovac. The natural means of removing such a threat to Serbia would be to place the boundary on the watershed. But it must be realized that whoever commands the Dragoman Pass also commands Sofia, twenty-three miles distant. To take this course would have been to replace one source of irritation by another. The Peace Conference therefore decided to move the boundary some seven miles up the Nišava, but still west of the pass by a similar distance, thus rendering Bulgarian concentration at Caribrod impossible, while leaving full military protection to the Sofia basin.

The other vital consideration in this central section depends upon the fact that the Morava Valley, with its railway, makes a large bend eastwards between Vranje and Leskovac, and that precisely opposite this bend the old boundary takes a wide sweep to the west so as to follow the main watershed between the Morava and Struma basins at a distance of only eleven miles from the chief Serbian railway route. The boundary has therefore been moved eastwards to follow minor divides between several tributaries of the Struma. It is to be noted that in the basin of the chief of these, the Dragomanci, which is now mostly in Serbia, there is a considerable population whose natural outlook is to Bulgaria, and which may not easily be brought into touch with Serbia over mountain passes nearly 4,000 feet above the Morava.

In the Southern Macedonian section the considerations were very similar to those just described. Here the very pronounced salient of Bulgaria in the basin of the Strumica enabled her to overlook the main Serbian railway from a distance of under six miles and a height of 1,600 feet above it.

The truncation of this salient has been achieved by moving the "three-frontier point" eastwards on the Belašica chain, and by fixing a line across the Strumica northwards to join the old line in the Maleš Planina.

The Macedonian population in the Strumica Valley which thus changes its nationality is not shut off from Serbia by any serious barrier, as there is easy communication with Štip and a good road leads over the Belašica from Strumica.

(b) *The Southern Boundary*—(i.) *In Macedonia and Western Thrace*.—This is almost entirely a mountainous frontier, for the most part near the southern edge of the Rhodope highlands. The old boundary between Greece and Bulgaria cuts in half the drainage basins of the Rivers Struma and Mesta, but east of the Mesta it attains the crest dividing the waters of this river from those of the Marica. Thus far the boundary is unaltered. From here a line had to be selected which separated the Ægean coastal plain, with its numerous population, mainly Greek and Turkish, from the basin of the River Arda, which drains the bulk of the Eastern Rhodope and contains a large population, mainly Turks and Bulgars. The coastal plain is linked to the interior by only two main roads—those from Xanthi to Bašmakli and from Gumuldžina northwards, with branches to Kirjali and to Ortaköj, both on the Arda. It was necessary to sever these communications, and undoubtedly the best place to do this was on the watershed between the Arda and Ægean drainage basins. This watershed is the highest and most continuous ridge in the region, and it is the zone with the smallest population. By placing the boundary there the Conference has sought to prevent Bulgaria threatening the coastal plain, and the Government to which the plain should be assigned from threatening the Arda basin.

(ii.) *In Eastern Thrace*.—The Conference, having

32 ASPECTS OF BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT

decided that Eastern Thrace should not be given to Bulgaria whatever its political destiny, probably could not have done better than adhere as much as possible to one or other of the two recent Turco-Bulgarian boundaries. From the eastern fringe of the Rhodope highlands to the Black Sea, then, the new boundary follows almost entirely one or other of the two boundaries of 1913 and 1915. In regard to these it may be noted that the great nodal point, Adrianople, is clearly the centre of the Thracian lowland, and therefore outside Bulgaria, and, further, that by the Treaty of 1915 Bulgaria had absorbed practically all the Bulgar population hitherto outside her frontiers save the isolated colonies in the Thracian lowland. There are two notable exceptions to this. North-west of Adrianople the 1913 boundary was farther east than the 1915 line; and in this case the ethnic claim led the Conference to restore the 1913 frontier here. In the other case—in the most easterly section—the ethnic grounds were not deemed sufficiently strong to justify an extension of Bulgaria. While the population along this part of the Black Sea coast is Greek, the valleys on the eastern slopes of the Istranja Dagħ are peopled mainly by Bulgars. On ethn then, the boundary should have been placed on the crest of this range.

(c) *The Northern Boundary.*—From the Serbian boundary eastwards the natural and the best frontier between Bulgaria and Rumania is the Danube. This applies in so far as the population south of the river is Bulgarian. In the Dobruja such is not the case. Moreover, in this region the Bulgar population extends into Rumania in a fairly continuous narrow belt parallel to the existing boundary from the Danube to the Black Sea. It seems clear, then, that a movement of the boundary in the Dobruja by several miles in favour of Bulgaria would make for general peace. The Conference, however, presumably considered that it was not competent to make or justified in making this change. The northern boundary of Bulgaria therefore remains as it was before the war.



FEB 9 '68

~~NON-CIRCULATING~~

FEB 7 '72

u
h

Stanford University Library
Stanford, California

In order that others may use this book, please
return it as soon as possible, but not later than
the date due.



PRINTED IN U.S.A.

